4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

[41] the Tzeltal of Tenejapa. F. Starr (1902a) gives measurements of 1.557.1 of height for men and 1.438.4 for women. Local variations exist between municipalities and between zones of different climate and altitude. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:328–29) describe the Tzeltal of the lower area of Bachajon:

Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men,
• [42] and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well formed. Their slender-

[P.196-C]

Their slender-
147 ness is deceptive, for their great strength lies
[482] in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without
142 undue fatigue . . . Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed, is negative.

143 As many as 99.56 per cent of Tzeltal belong to blood type O, which is one of the highest frequencies registered in the Ma-
143 yance area. According to Matson and Swan-
144 son (1959, p. 50), "In general the more isolated peoples such as the Lacandon, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Cakchiquel show the highest frequency of the O gene." This condition is attributed to the absence of racial mixture.

Cultural Configuration

621 Like the Indians in the highlands of Gua-
[171] temala (Tax, 1937), the Tzeltal group themselves in communities which are distinct social and cultural units, as is characteristic
621 of the tribe. Each community has its well-
184 defined lands, its own dialect forms, wearing apparel, kinship system, politico-religious organization, economic resources, crafts, and other cultural features. Any native of the region finds it easy to identify the origin of other Indians by noting their speech, wearing apparel, or the goods they
621 sell. Solidarity between the members of each community is strong and becomes manifest in times of conflict with outside groups or in their way of gathering according to their "nationality" on fiestas or market days when people of other communities attend. On the other hand, no ethnic solidar-
[628] ity whatsoever exists. Each community restricts itself to its own affairs and nothing else; whatever happens to the other Tzeltal communities is something altogether apart.
621 The territorial limits of these communi-
632 ties do not always coincide with those of
[171] the municipalities, as in Guatemala. Various well-defined communities exist (in the terms described above) which belong to

[P. 197-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 2—TENEJAPA WOMAN AND CHILD. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 204]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

• 142
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FIG. 3—INDIAN GIRL, FINCA EL REAL.
(Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 209-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Aguacatenango

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FIG. 4—WOMEN FROM AGUACATENANGO (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P. 210-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Tenejapa

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FIG. 5—TENEJAPA GROUP WITH VESSELS CONTAINING CHICHA. (Copyright, Gertrude Duby.)

[P 214-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E 4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor

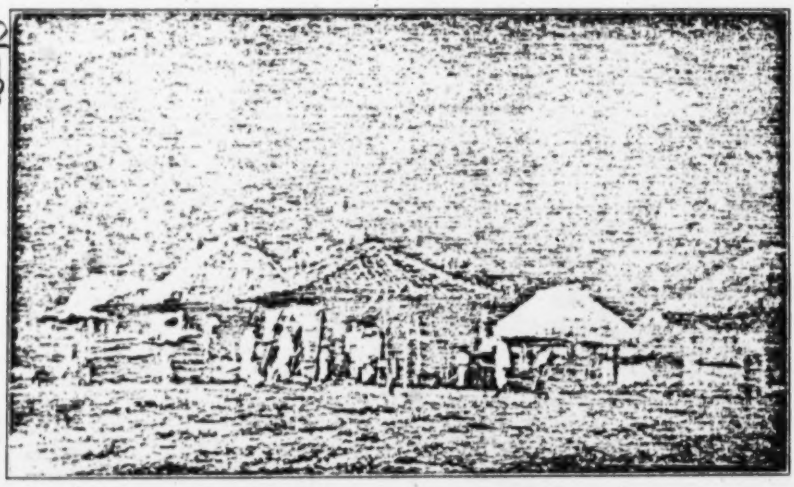

Fig. 278—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar proganthism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283). 142

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people. 152

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FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chis. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos. 648

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed themselves always responsive to friendly advances on our part. 609 152 123

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

FIG. 280—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.

FIG. 281—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

648 771 793 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it — the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142] [291] [301] [302] →

[142] [291] [302] →

648 241 361 466 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

FIG. 298—Sivacá, Chia. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is compartively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

Fig. 299—Sivacá, Chia. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom.
B. Pok'et.
C. Teameta.
D. Hor'mo.
E. Hutstahibe.
F. Tseta.
G. Awaliko.
H. Tcistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516] ←

Fig. 300—El Encanto, Chia. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pĕtĕt*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d). 283

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage. 286 342 284 142 516 854 302 291 231

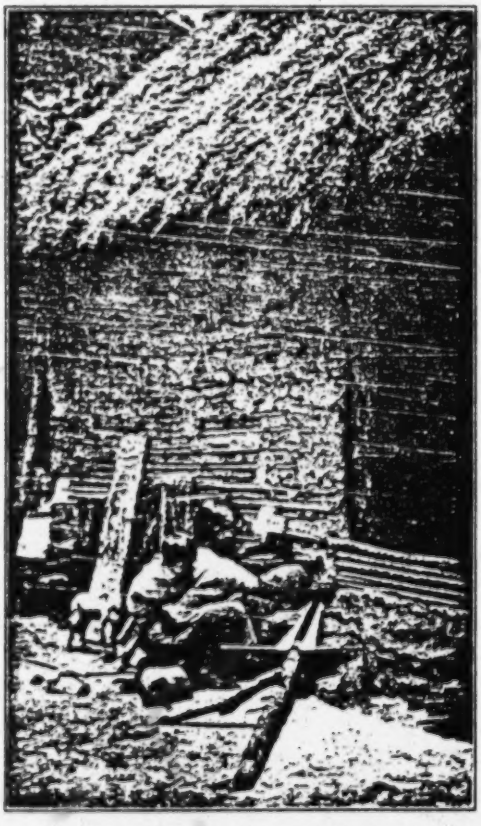

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holĕl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*Holĕl is one of a large class of words ending in -el, -ĕl, or -il, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. tal-el, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin venire and veniendo. Hol-ĕl primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom. 193

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313).

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging.

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and

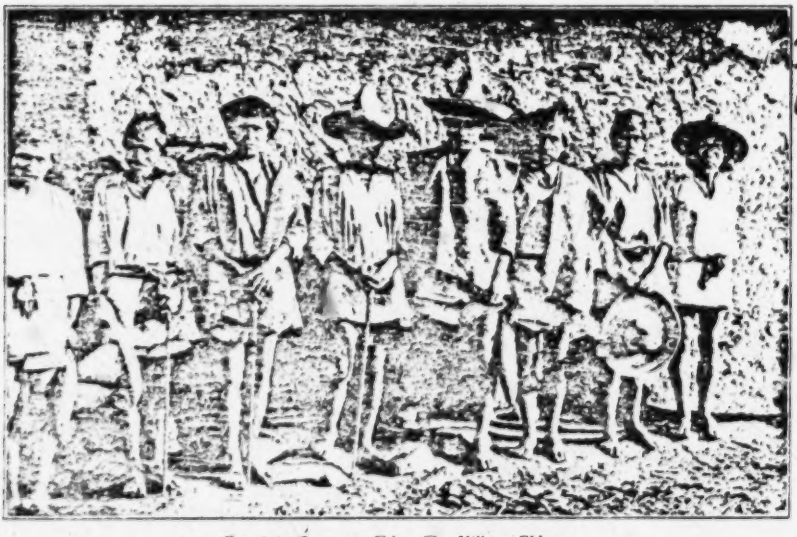

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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FIG. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields. We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *yoc-xcal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"), a *tseis* bowl of

[302] ←

FIG. 315—Tenango, Chis. Woman's head-dress.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unresting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined huts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria."* According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1867; Pineda, 1888.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chis. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,587	1,722	1,468	254	75	18	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.8	86.4	68.0	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.3	63.6	30.6
NASAL INDEX	98.9	108.8	84.1	24.3

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

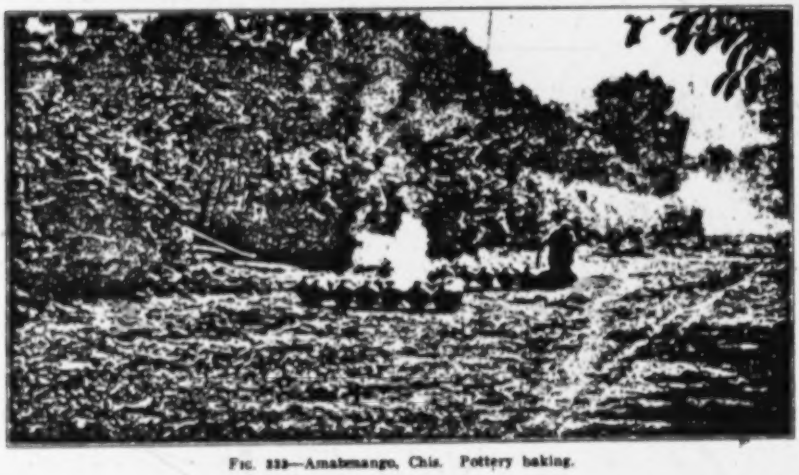

FIG. 333—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

[P.198-E]

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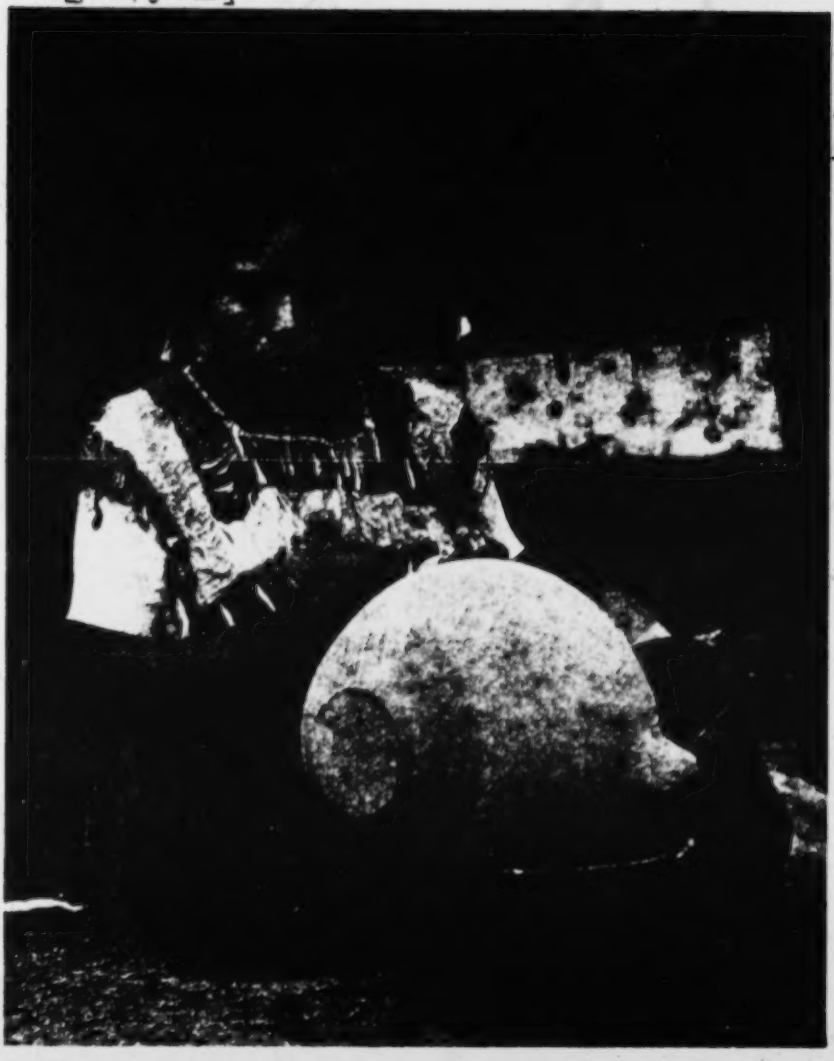

Plate 6. Woman scraping a cantero that has been sun-dried in the porch of her home. Behind her is an altar with pictures of the saints. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

1/1 (correction, this should read "photograph by Marcey Jacobson"..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Ámatenango del Valle

[P 198-H]

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824

Plate 10. Future members of the household line up with the branches of spring bushes with which the curer will brush them. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.